

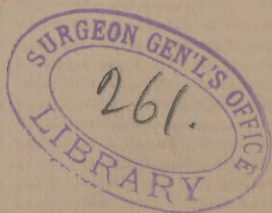
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THE SYSTEM
OF
HIGH LICENSES;

HOW IT CAN BE MADE SUCCESSFUL.

BY

G. THOMANN.



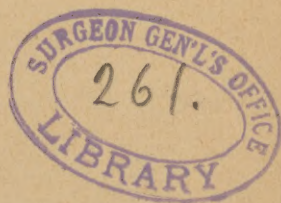
NEW YORK:
THE UNITED STATES BREWERS' ASSOCIATION.
1888.

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THE SYSTEM
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How it can be made Successful.

Errors of judgment are less frequently the result of defective reasoning power than of insufficient and one-sided information. In order to render impartial judgment upon any question at issue, one must be mindful of Luther's rhythmic injunction :

Eines Mannes Rede ist keine Rede,
Man muss sie billig hören beede,

which, freely translated, means :

One man's word is no man's word,
They must in justice both be heard.

On the question of a *high license* for the sale of intoxicating liquors a great deal has been said and written by the advocates of this measure, and in consequence, our people are thoroughly acquainted with this one side of a very important issue. The opponents of this temperance method have not been heard to any great extent, and for this reason it is to be feared that very many persons, who have given the subject their attention, are already prepossessed in favor of the advocacy of an *indiscriminate* application of high licenses, and, consequently, prone to commit what in the light of more comprehensive information they themselves would regard as an error of judgment.

There can be no doubt about the purity of the motives and the rectitude of the intentions of the advocates of high licenses. In truth, it may be regarded as a self-evident fact that these per-

sons, who in the liquor question occupy a middle-ground between prohibition and non-restraint, are as a class the best friends of true temperance and of the moral and physical welfare of the people. A majority of them also favor the substitution of malt liquors for ardent spirits. Furthermore, it may be admitted that their views and propositions, although fatally defective in *one* essential particular, encompass all but one of the elemental conditions of a far-reaching diminution of the evils of intemperance. Excepting this defect, their policy is in the abstract identical with that proposed by the Swiss Government, aiming as it does at a utilization of the taxing power—in one form or another—as a regulator of the liquor traffic. Their error lies in the application of this principle—an application which is premised on the totally untenable assumption that, from a temperance point of view, fermented liquors and distilled spirits should practically be treated in one and the same manner. In pursuing such a course, the advocates of high licenses favor distilled liquors at the expense of fermented beverages, instead of so framing their measure as to limit the use of the former liquors by imparting to the latter greater power of expansion.

Experience has demonstrated that no attempt to restrict the use of ardent spirits, and to diminish the results of inebriety, can be successful unless accompanied by all the conditions that insure cheapness of fermented liquors. This view—a view held and acted upon by Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, and, in fact, nearly every prominent American statesman from the beginning of our Government*—has recently found powerful advocates in the Government of Switzerland and in the International Temperance Congress held at Antwerp in the month of September of the present year.† In the report of the Statistical Bureau of Switzerland on the drink question (p. 629), and again in the message of the Federal Council to the Federal Legislature of Switzerland,‡

* See the writer's "Liquor Laws of the United States; their Spirit and Effect." 1885.

† The writer is under many obligations to the Honorable Burgomaster of Antwerp for the transmission of the published reports of this Congress.

‡ "Botschaft des Bundesrathes an die hohe Bundesverwaltung betreffend die Alkoholfrage."—Bern, 1884

there appears the following official promulgation of a definite policy in reference to the liquor traffic:

Taxation ranks foremost among the measures calculated to restrict the excessive use of ardent spirits. As an administrative measure, the tax upon this—in many respects pernicious—article may be fixed at as high a rate as is compatible with revenue considerations having reference to the collection of such a tax.

But a tax upon ardent spirits alone will not accomplish the desired object; in order to be fully effective, it must be followed by a systematic diminution and the ultimate abolition of taxes upon wholesome beverages.

On the second day of the International Temperance Congress of Antwerp (September 13, 1885), Dr. Lancereaux, member of the Paris *Académie de Médecine*, formulated the following policy, which was loudly applauded:

“In order to repress the effects of alcoholism, we must strive:

I. To render absolutely free the sale of those beverages which are little hurtful or not at all injurious,* such as cider, beer and wine, provided the latter are not adulterated.

II. To watch over the manufacture of liquors distilled from grain and potatoes, and by all practicable means to improve the quality of these liquors.

III. To exact from retailers of ardent spirits a certificate of good character and to impose upon their trade more stringent licenses and higher duties.

IV. To punish persons found in a state of intoxication, and to place confirmed drunkards under restraint.†

The quoted policies both aim at a diminution of inebriety by cheapening fermented drinks, and by enhancing the price of distilled liquors. To the student of American history there is nothing new in these propositions, for on every page of the annals of the American Congress, beginning with Washington's administration, he finds recorded in great abundance utterances of the same tenor and purport. Even Dr. Benjamin Rush, whom, at the recent centennial celebration, prohibitionists and temperance advocates have, with more enthusiasm than truthfulness, glorified as one of their own, fully endorsed Jefferson's conviction, to the

* The original text reads: “D'accorder une liberté *absolue* à la vente des boissons peu ou point nuisibles.”

† Like Pasteur, Marvaux and many, if not all, eminent French physicians, this academician styled beer the most excellent of all stimulants.

effect that "*no nation is sober where the dearness of fermented drinks substitutes ardent spirits as the common beverage.*"

Long before the Swiss Government thought of systematically investigating the drink question and of minimizing the results of inebriety, the State Board of Health of Massachusetts propounded a method of reform almost identical with the Swiss policy quoted above. In the Tenth Annual Report of said Board, published in January, 1879, we find the following sentence :

"It is generally believed that light German beer is used more and more each year, at least in our State, to the exclusion of stronger liquors—a change which it is of course desirable to hasten by legislation so far as that can be done, *either by removal of restrictions on the sale of mild liquors and heavily taxing the stronger spirits, or by any other just and proper means.*"

The system of high licenses, as generally applied in our country, instead of removing restrictions on the sale of mild liquors, imposes additional and, for the most part, exorbitant burdens upon the beer traffic and thereby increases inebriety, no matter whether it diminishes the number of drinking-places or not. This is not merely a theoretical assertion unsupported by practical experience. Quite the contrary, it is the essence of all impartial investigations into the working of laws and regulations whose framers have either purposely or unwittingly ignored the necessity of cheapening, and of increasing the facilities for obtaining, the milder drinks, which, comparatively harmless in themselves, tend strongly to diminish the evil results of inebriety by confining the use of ardent spirits to narrow limits.

Opposed to this experience of all mankind we find an abstract theory propounded by the high license advocates, to the effect, that a reduction of the number of drinking-places, regardless of the nature of drinks offered for sale therein, must necessarily reduce inebriety and its consequences. Based upon the fallacious assumption that the craving for stimulants is produced by the opportunities offered for its gratification (a perversion, by the way, of the economic axiom that the demand regulates the supply), this theory is primarily aimed at a restriction of temptations, in the matter of traffic, as a means for the ulterior purpose of diminishing poverty, crime, insanity and death resulting from over-

indulgence. To prove the correctness of their premise and conclusion high license advocates would have to produce evidence not only of the reduction, by a system of high licenses, of the number of public drinking-places, but also—and that is by far the more important part of their task—of a corresponding decrease in the number of arrests made for drunkenness, the number of patients suffering from alcoholism and the number of deaths resulting from the same cause. Unless this can be shown, the evidence of a diminution of drinking-places goes for nothing, for the restricting of temptations is simply a means, the end and object of which is a diminution of drunkenness and its concomitants and effects. Hence the questions to be answered would be as follows :

1. Do high licenses reduce the number of saloons, and if so, do they diminish alike the consumption of ardent spirits and of fermented liquors?
2. Does a reduction of the number of saloons necessarily imply less drinking, less drunkenness, less indigence, less immorality, less sickness and fewer deaths?

High license laws are now in force in many States of the Union, yet neither one of the foregoing questions has so far been satisfactorily answered by those who wish to have us believe in the efficacy of this method of restriction. It is true, an occasional attempt has been or is being made, here and there, to show a decrease in drinking-places,—a showing which we shall prove to be defective in many essential particulars—but no effort was, or, in fact, *could* successfully be made to demonstrate, by the aid of statistical exhibits, a change for the better in the moral and material condition of the people of the localities in question, from any point of view. Statistical data on the subject are not yet * to be had in such form and in such number as to warrant comparisons with the state of things previous to the high license era, and thereby to admit the drawing of general conclusions. There is, however, easily to be obtained sufficient germane information from which, by deductive reasoning, a tolerably accurate idea

* Illinois presents some reports, but they are premature and inconclusive.

may be formed of the working of high licenses under the circumstances before described. To this method of ascertaining the true state of affairs we shall return after having presented to the reader the outcome of an investigation conducted by the Statistical Bureau of Switzerland under authority of the Federal Council of that republic.

It appears from the official report of this authority that the *worst forms of the evils of inebriety are often most prevalent in the very localities in which the number of public drinking-places is smallest*. In other words, the statistical inquiry in question has led, in many instances, to conclusions diametrically opposed to the theory of our high license advocates with reference to the causal relation said to exist between a reduction of drinking-places and a diminution of inebriety.

The proof of this assertion is found in the inlaid maps which we reproduce from the message of the Federal Council to the Legislature of Switzerland.*

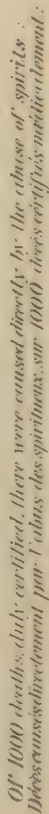
It would be an unpardonable perversion of facts and inferences to claim, on the strength of the following cartographic representation, that, as a *rule*, there is least alcoholism wherever there are fewest drinking-places. Such a claim would indeed be quite as unphilosophical as the contrary assertion of high license advocates. The truth, as it stares us in the face when we contemplate the meaning of these maps, is simply that *the number of drinking-places is not in any manner a reliable indicator of the consumption of drinks or of the effects of drinking*.†

* Table IV, page 40.

† On this point the original statistical report reads as follows:

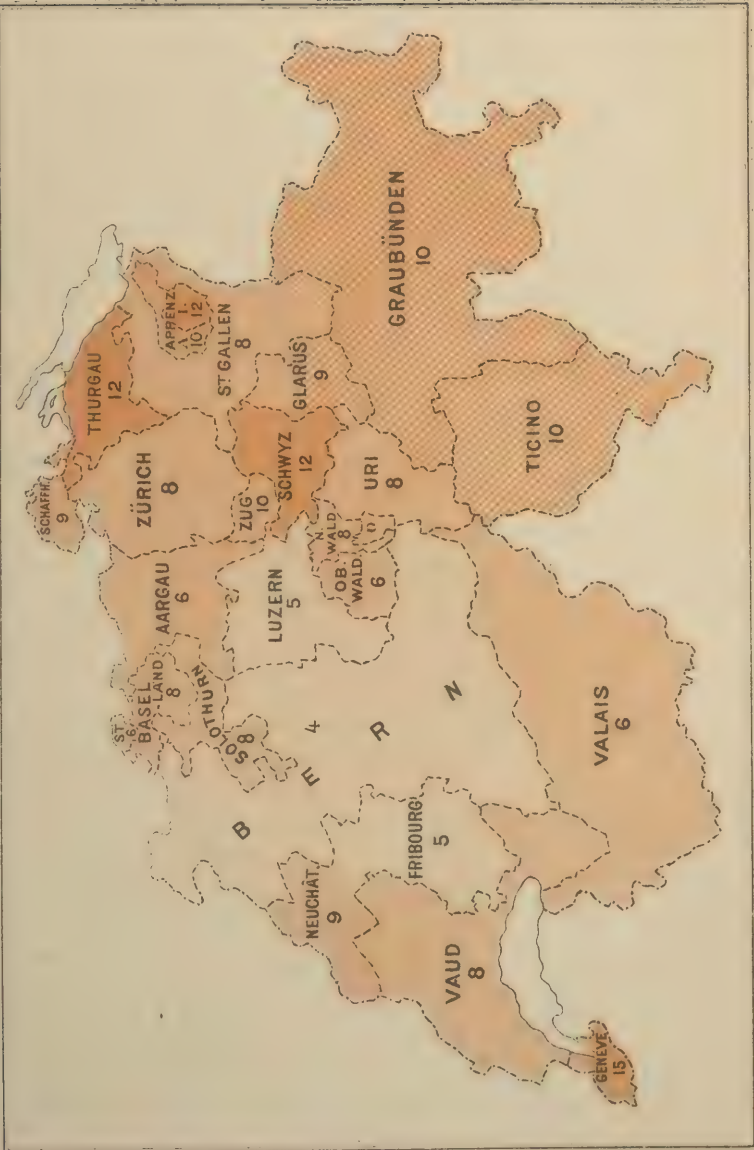
"In the course of our investigation we have not found any data warranting the assumption—now become almost a dogma in many places—that the reduction of the number of drinking-places tends to restrict the consumption of ardent spirits. On the contrary, we are constrained to state that we have frequently found the evil effects of alcoholism most prevalent in the very localities where the number of drinking-places was smallest—an *apparent anomaly* which finds its explanation in the fact that in the absence of a sufficient number of conveniently located public bar-rooms, the people of the localities in question became accustomed to tipping at home, laying in store greater or smaller quantities of spirits according to their means. The number of saloons is not a criterion of the consumption of spirits. We hold that a much more effective temperance measure, than a reduction of the saloons, is to be found in all those rules and regulations which, by exacting certain securities from the persons licensed to retail ardent spirits, render the retailers, as a class, more respectable and improve the condition and management of drinking-places."

Décès causés directement par l'abus des spiritueux, de 1877 à 1882.



9-

RETAILERS OF LIQUORS IN 1882. Etablissements destinés à la consommation des boissons en 1882.



Number of Saloonkeepers every 1000 of inhabitants: Nombre des débits de boissons par 1000 habitants:

— 5	6-8	9-11	12 —
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The true significance of such figures as are presented in the case of the Canton of Valais, for example, becomes plain when the legal aspect of the liquor traffic and the mode of life and habits of the people concerned are understood. In Valais the principle of industrial liberty, jealously guarded by all our Swiss fellow-republicans, is given full sway. It applies to the liquor traffic as well as to all other trades, and every person who possesses the qualifications requisite for carrying on any trade at all, is also qualified and permitted to engage in the liquor traffic. There is not, then, in this Canton any restrictive law or regulation to prevent the growth of the saloon business. We find in Valais, a Canton having almost no industry, *six* public drinking-places for every thousand of the inhabitants. Yet what is the proportion of deaths resulting from alcoholism? Only 1,₃ *out of every thousand of certified deaths; while in Bern, where the number of drinking-places is only four, for every thousand, the proportion of deaths, per thousand, from the same cause is 8,₃.*

Now look at the mode of life and the drinking habits of the *Valaisan* and compare them with that of the *Bernese*. Dr. Schuler, Inspector of Factories, under instructions from the Swiss Department of the Interior inquired into the manner of living of the Swiss people in its relation to alcoholism, and rendered an exhaustive report on the subject,* from which we extract the following in relation to Valais:

“Milk is being consumed in great abundance. The number of small dairies is very large. Cheese is used in large quantities, and fatty substances of all kinds are not sparingly partaken of. Home-made black bread forms a principal part of the daily food. Indian corn and potatoes enter largely into the diet. The Valaisan spends little for luxuries; it is true, he drinks coffee, more or less mixed with chicory, but even that diluted with fifty per cent. of milk. *In the wine region the consumption of wine is very great, also that of cider. In other localities the laboring man rarely sees wine. The drinks mostly in demand in public drinking-places are wine and beer. Distilled liquors are rarely called for. The latter drinks are not even given to, or used by, field laborers with their cold meals, partaken of while engaged in out-door work, and usually consisting of bread, cheese and nuts.* Thus it may be said that the Valaisan laborer, adhering to this time-honored mode of living, belongs to the category of well-fed individuals.”

* Die Ernährungsweise der arbeitenden Klassen in der Schweiz und ihr Einfluss auf die Ausbreitung des Alcoholismus; by Dr. Schuler. Bern, 1884. Page 4.

Here we have a frugal but well-fed people, using wine, beer and cider to the almost entire exclusion of ardent spirits. In spite of a number of drinking places much larger than that in Bern, the rate of death from alcoholism (per thousand of certified deaths) is only 1,₃ while the same death-rate in Bern is 8,₃.

Now hear Dr. Schuler on the Canton of Bern:

"One of my correspondents from the neighborhood of Emmenthal writes of the unusually insipid and innutritious food of the poorer classes. The fare consists of execrable coffee, unsubstantial soups, porridge consisting of flour or meal and water, turnips and all sorts of cabbages. The consumption of meat is slightly on the increase, yet the prices are beyond the means of the laboring classes, who must be content with cheap horse-flesh, or the favorite but little nutritious sausages. Happily the consumption of milk is gradually increasing, but like that of cheese it is still very small in this greatest of cheese producing Cantons.* Home-made black bread is supplanted by the unwholesome loaves from the bakery. Pastry is rarely used; in its stead potatoes are consumed in great quantities, either boiled, or roasted with very little grease. The coffee with which this unpalatable diet is washed down, contains scarcely one-fourth milk. There being a pitiable lack of albumen and fatty substances in these articles of food, their nourishing quality amounts to very little. As a consequence small lunches are frequently partaken of between meals, and invariably accompanied by potations of whiskey. Cider is used rarely; whiskey predominates also in public drinking-places, and, unfortunately, children are very early being trained to the use of ardent spirits."

With very few exceptions the description of the state of things in other parts of this Canton is equally appalling, if not more so. Particularly is this the case among all workers in factories, who are compelled to drudge early and late for a mere pittance; whose dwellings, located in over-crowded quarters of manufacturing towns, are badly ventilated and insufficiently provided with water and drainage. Here all the horrors of modern industrialism combine to drive the laborer to the use of cheap whiskey—the price of beer and wine being beyond his means.

The most significant feature of the case is the fact that the Bernese authorities passed a law establishing a limit beyond which licenses could not be granted, and prescribing a certain method for ascertaining just how many drinking-places were needed for a fixed proportion of the population. The object,

* The great cheese factories which supply the foreign market with the celebrated Emmenthaler consume what was formerly used by the laboring classes.

and, indeed, the actual effect of this law was just what high license advocates aim at: viz., a decrease in the number of saloons. Yet, as we have seen, this decrease did not ameliorate the state of affairs, but, on the other hand, made it infinitely worse, viewed in the light of the Valais figures.

Unless willfully blind, the most enraged advocate of an *indiscriminate* application of high licenses must perceive that here the number of saloons has absolutely nothing to do with the evil effects of inebriety. On the contrary, he will be constrained to admit that it would be a boon to Bern to have as many drinking-places as Valais, provided that the drinks therein offered for sale were those used by the Valaisan. Let us consider the showing in a tabulated form:

NAME OF CANTON.	Number of saloons for every thousand of inhabitants.	Number of deaths from alcoholism in every thousand of certified deaths.	Kind of Drinks generally used.
Valais.....	6.	1,3.	Wine, beer and cider.
Bern.....	4.	8,3.	Distilled spirits.

What would an indiscriminate high license accomplish in a case like this? It would surely reduce the number of retailers of wine and beer, because these articles, on which the profits to the dispenser are small, can neither *bear nor evade* heavy burdens. And what would be the result of rendering fermented drinks dearer and less accessible? The answer is plain. We need but look at Bern. There would be fewer saloons, just as is the case in Bern, compared with Valais, but there would be *eight* deaths from alcoholism, as is the case in Bern, instead of a little over *one* as reported from Valais.

Inebriety would be reduced in Bern by an increase of saloons, provided that fermented drinks would be offered therein and could be had for prices within the means of the laborers. Drunkenness would be increased in Valais by a reduction of drinking-places, seeing that the dearness and inaccessibility of the lighter drinks drive the people to the use of cheap ardent

spirits, which latter can be laid up at home in considerable quantities without great expense.

Was it an unwarranted assertion, then, to say, as we did before, that the theory of the advocates of *indiscriminate* high licenses is fatally defective in this one particular point, that it puts upon fermented drinks burdens which are comparatively more unbearable than those imposed on ardent spirits? It is as clear as sun-light, why the Swiss Federal Council, why the Swiss Bureau of Statistics, why every American statesman of note, why nearly all French and German physicians, why the government of Belgium, and why, finally, the Health Board of Massachusetts recommended that the taxes upon the manufacture and sale of beer and wine be removed, and those upon ardent spirits increased to an extent consistent with revenue considerations.

The Valaisan, following a healthy occupation, well-fed, well-housed and well-paid, has not, it is true, the same intense craving for stimulants as the Bernese, who is insufficiently fed, badly housed and miserably paid. But the chief difference lies in the means which their condition and surroundings afford for the gratification of any craving. The Valaisan has *six* drinking-places to *four* of the Bernese; nine-tenths of the beverages dispensed by these six saloons consist of fermented drinks, while four-fifths of those sold in Bernese saloons are ardent spirits. The result is 1, ₃ deaths from alcoholism, out of every thousand of certified deaths, in the former, and 8, ₃ deaths in the latter case.

We cannot follow the original report through all the intricate conditions and circumstances which the various Swiss officials have found to be at the bottom of inebriety in the one, and of comparative sobriety in the other case. It may again be stated, however, that the chief cause was found to lie in the nature of drinks used.

Valais and Bern do not, by the way, form the most pointed contrast offered by our authority. Many others there are much more striking than this. The table given on the next page explains itself on this point even more forcibly, perhaps, than the maps.

NAME OF CANTON.	No. of saloons for every 1000 of inhabitants.	No. of deaths caused directly by alcoholism, in every 1000 of certified deaths.	NAME OF CANTON.	No. of saloons for every 1000 of inhabitants.	No. of deaths caused by alcoholism per 1000 of certified deaths.
Geneva	15	7 ₅ .	Basel Land	8	5 ₃ .
Thurgau	12	0 ₉ .	Solothurn	8	10 ₁ .
Schwyz	12	2 ₅ .	Unterwalden, n.d.W.	8	3 ₈ .
Appenzell, A.	10	1 ₉ .	Uri	8	2 ₉ .
" 1	12	6 ₀ .	Vaud	8	5 ₈ .
Zug	10	2 ₇ .	Valais	6	1 ₃ .
Graubünden	10	2 ₇ .	Unterwalden, o.d.W.	6	4 ₈ .
Ticino	10	1 ₈ .	Basel Stadt	6	4 ₈ .
Schaffhausen	9	3 ₃ .	Aargau	6	2 ₈ .
Glarus	9	1 ₉ .	Luzern	5	3 ₈ .
Neuchâtel	9	10 ₂ .	Freiburg	5	6 ₇ .
Zürich	8	2 ₈ .	Bern	4	8 ₈ .
St. Gallen	8	2 ₀

One cannot possibly conceive a more complete refutation of the high license theory than that which the bare facts offer us in the case of the canton of Thurgau. Here the proportion of drinking places to inhabitants is twelve for every thousand. It is next to the highest rate indicated on the maps; yet the proportion of deaths caused by alcoholism is lower than in any other canton of Switzerland, namely: 0₉.

According to the law in force in Thurgau since 1847 (which was superseded by a recent act of similar tenor and purport), every citizen of the canton and every legal settler, of good character and reputation, is entitled to engage in the liquor traffic, and can do so on application to the proper authorities. By virtue of an act passed December 2d, 1860, the mode of application and the manner of proving the good character of the applicant were somewhat modified in favor of retailers of malt liquors.

Absolute non-restraint has been, and is, the rule in this canton, of whose people Dr. Schuler,* in drawing a parallel between them and the people of Zurich, tells us the following :

“ It must be said to the credit of the small farmers and field laborers that they try to live very rationally. Much fruit and a great variety of vegetables are eaten, and meat is had at least twice a week. The operations of cheese factories have lately reduced somewhat the use of milk—there being a strong tendency among dairymen to convert all their products into ready money—yet the consumption of this article of food is still very great, also that of all kinds of fats. *Cider and wine, consumed in very great quantities,*† are the *common drink of the laborers*. Since the repeated failures of grape-crops beer forms the staple drink sold in public drinking-places. **DISTILLED LIQUORS ARE USED ONLY BY TRAVELERS AND VAGRANTS.** *Delirium tremens is almost unknown.*”

Here, then, in a canton having the largest number of public drinking-places, except one, wine, cider and beer are being consumed in large quantities, and yet drunkenness and its pernicious results are almost unknown, while in Bern, with only four drinking places for every thousand inhabitants, alcoholism claims more victims than in any other canton, except two. Does this prove our case?

From actual experience it is known that an attempt to restrict the facilities for obtaining ardent spirits, either by taxation or by a limitation of the number of drinking-places according to population, cannot be successful, unless a condition of things be created under which the lighter beverages, by reason of greater cheapness and accessibility, naturally take the place of distilled drinks. It is for this reason that the authorities of Switzerland strongly accentuated the absolute necessity of removing restrictions and burdens from the manufacture and sale of fermented beverages, simultaneously with an increase of tax burdens on distilled liquors. The American system of high licenses makes no such discrimination,‡ and, consequently, either restricts or de-

* Page 16, with reference to page 15.

† The original text reads, “ *in gewaltigen Quantitäten* ;” that is, in mighty quantities.

‡ The license for the sale of fermented drinks is, in some instances, not always positively lower than that for the sale of ardent spirits; but it is relatively higher, considering that the profits on the sale of beer are infinitely smaller than on distilled liquors.

stroys the beer traffic, and thereby creates new fields for the expansion of the sale of ardent spirits, and the growth of alcoholism.

The Swiss agitation, which culminated in the recent adoption of a constitutional amendment looking entirely to the restriction of the use of ardent spirits, brought to the surface a great number of instances illustrating the advisability of the broadest possible distinction between the two kinds of beverages.

Before the adoption of this constitutional amendment the liquor traffic of Switzerland was not governed by Federal legislation. Each canton regulated its own affairs in accordance with the real or supposed requirements of the case. In cantons where the so-called gin epidemic raged most fiercely, the local authorities conceived the idea of checking the evil by placing the traffic generally under a tax restraint, and by trying to enforce strict sanitary rules for the inspection of stimulants. It was thought that through the agency of such regulations the facilities for obtaining liquors would be circumscribed, and the quality of stimulants improved. That the outcome of these measures was exactly like that witnessed under partly similar circumstances in certain States of our country, is obvious from the following statement made by the Swiss Federal Council in its message to the National Legislature:

“The adulteration laws, which were readily obeyed so far as milk, wine and food were concerned, were utterly useless as against distilled spirits. Disregard of the sanitary regulations was unavoidably linked with an illicit retail traffic that defied all legal restraint. *The law proposed to limit the use of wine and beer—beverages which, from their nature, are not injurious to health—and it succeeded; but it did not succeed in confining the retailing of ardent spirits to the licensed venders, who, notwithstanding this fact, were erroneously supposed to be the cause of the gin epidemic.* Statistics compiled by our officers show that there are in Switzerland (Geneva excepted) only 2096 legally authorized distilleries, but 3489 retailers of spirits who have no retailer's license. We would have cause to congratulate ourselves if the number of the latter were not larger. Public opinion is aroused whenever an “unfortunate” distiller is punished for illicitly retailing brandy, because it is a public secret that one can have distilled liquor anywhere, in small quantities, without applying to the licensed vender for it. *Thus wine and beer, these healthy stimulants, have been rendered inaccessible to the workingman, while pernicious whiskey can be had anywhere at a ridiculously low price.*”

The system of high licenses produces the very calamity from which the Swiss people are about to escape. Thanks to a judicious fiscal system, the American people have conquered the evils which grew out of the "free whiskey regime," and become one of the soberest nations on earth. They have accomplished this by the very means recommended by Dr. Benjamin Rush, namely, the substitution of fermented drinks for distilled spirits. Apply high licenses to malt liquors and you will weaken, if not destroy, the only means by which a people may be made temperate in their drinking-habits; the only means to which we Americans owe the reduction, within sixty years, of the *per capita* consumption of whiskey from eighteen down to four quarts.

If the statistics and conclusions of the Swiss Government prove anything at all, they prove conclusively that the number of public drinking-places, generally speaking, bears no causal relation to inebriety, unless it be in a sense diametrically opposite to that of our high license advocates; and, further, they prove that in order to restrict drunkenness and its results, it is necessary to increase, rather than diminish, the facilities for obtaining the milder drinks, whereby the ulterior object of diminishing the consumption of the fiery liquors will be attained *per se*. The method of doing this is plainly described, in the Swiss reports, in the words already quoted:

"But a tax upon ardent spirits alone will not accomplish the desired object; in order to be fully effective, it must be followed by a systematic diminution and the ultimate abolition of taxes upon wholesome beverages."

Modify your high license system so as to conform to the above, and it will produce what every temperance advocate is avowedly striving for.

Through the Swiss investigation it has again become obvious that there are at the root of intemperance innumerable economic and social defects, which can not be eradicated unless it be by such legislative or other measures, as one would not dare to propose outside of a meeting of Anarchists. The almost universal application of steam-power has revolutionized the labor system, changed the condition, mode of life and habits of the "breadwinners," and produced in all strata of society, high and

low, an intense nervousness, which seems to reflect the mad whirligig of the era of electricity and steam.

No doubt can exist that the greater degree of inebriety which, *in spite* of the incredibly small number of drinking-places, was found to prevail in manufacturing towns is the effect of the misery attendant upon factory-life, with its constant ups and downs; its alternating prosperousness and depression; and its tendency to slacken family ties. Poverty is not nearly as often the effect as it is the cause of inebriety, as we have always maintained.* No laws ever proposed, or likely to be proposed, by temperance advocates can remedy what must be styled the evils of our civilization. On the contrary, a measure such as high license advocates defend, would assuredly intensify the evils in the manner shown by our Swiss authority. Except so far as the irresistible logic of their figures are concerned, the Swiss officers have not told us anything new, when, pointing to such instances as Bern affords, they asserted that the great need of more fermented drinks—which means more beer-saloons—was felt in the very localities where inebriety prevailed to the greatest extent. Over a year ago we said of the high license law: †

“It provokes illicit selling of ardent spirits; it diminishes the consumption of malt liquors; it aggravates the evils of intemperance, and fosters immorality. In large cities, like New York, Philadelphia and Brooklyn, the results would be still more pernicious. High licenses would there practically amount to prohibition, so far as three-fourths of that large class of saloons are concerned in which only malt liquors are sold. They would not affect the two extremes of the business; they would neither diminish the number of gorgeous establishments frequented by the ‘gilded youth,’ nor the number of low dens, where profligacy and crime find refuge; but they would undoubtedly decrease the number of beer saloons in those densely populated quarters where cheap and wholesome stimulants form almost the only solace and comfort of the great mass of hard workers and their families. It

* Real and Imaginary Effects of Intemperance. New York, 1884.

† Ibid, page 93.

would almost exclusively affect those persons who, as has been shown by Mayor Low's inebriety statistics, vie with the best citizens in sobriety and strictest obedience to the law. The system, as a temperance measure, is not needed in those quarters; but where it might be said to be needed, it would have absolutely no effect. Proprietors of low dens will surely not shrink from adding one more wrong to the list of nefarious doings which form the sum of their iniquity. They will either sell illicitly, or pay the high license, and strive to make up the extra expenditure by an extra effort in depravity. They can illicitly sell ardent spirits, because these can readily be concealed or transported from place to place in small quantities. Beer cannot be sold illicitly, as every one knows, without exposing the seller to easy discovery and punishment. In place of the small respectable beer saloons, we would see groggeries in the disguise of soda water stands and like seemingly harmless business. Whiskey would be consumed in larger quantities, and under circumstances almost excluding the possibility of preserving public order and morality; while beer would, to a large extent, be driven out in just those quarters where light, wholesome stimulants have become an absolute necessity to the happiness and comfort of a large, well-behaved and orderly portion of our population."

If, instead of dogmatically reiterating what might be made a good policy, but now is a worse than dangerous fallacy, the friends of indiscriminate high-licenses would but closely study the maps and tables herein presented, and consider, in conjunction with them, that intemperance is but one of the symptoms of what Dr. Max Nordau calls the *universal disease of the age*,*

* In his "Conventional lies of our civilization" this eminent author says: "Another and by far more dangerous form of this disease is the depression, uneasiness and breaking away, which characterize the mental attitude of every fully developed man who has attained to the heights of modern culture, irrespective of his nation and allegiance or non-allegiance to party or state. This pessimism is the keynote of our age as a delight in mere existence was of the classic ages, and ultra-piety of the mediæval period. Every man of culture feels this sense of irritating discomfort which he ascribes to some slight, casual cause, inevitably the wrong one, and unless he analyzes his feelings with unusual care—it leads him to criticise and harshly condemn the varying phases of our modern social life. This impatience upon which all outside influences seem to exert an exciting and even exasperating effect, is called by some nervousness, by others pessimism, and by a third class skepticism. The multiplicity

they would assuredly modify their position in the manner we have indicated.

It has been clearly proved that a mere reduction of the number of saloons, irrespective of the nature of drinks sold, far from being a temperance measure, must under certain conditions and circumstances bring about results entirely different from those sought to be attained. This is a rule which change of time and place cannot affect.

While sojourning in Germany during the Spring of the present year, the writer had an excellent opportunity of observing the working of an ordinary license law, passed and enforced in Alsace-Lorraine, for the avowed purpose of stemming the tide of alcoholism by restricting the number of public drinking-places. The necessity for such a measure, in a country richly productive of grapes and hops, will be understood when it is known that under the laws governing the traffic in the States of the German Tax-Union (to which Alsace-Lorraine belongs) distilled spirits are greatly favored. "Branntwein" is, in fact, facetiously called the pet of the German exchequer. The officers having charge of fiscal matters are known to look with displeasure upon any proposition to limit the operations of distil-

of names describes but one and the same disease. This disease is visible in every manifestation of modern culture. * * * * * This universal mental restlessness and uneasiness exerts a powerful and many-sided influence upon individual life. A dread of examining and comprehending the actualities of life prevails to a frightfully alarming extent, and manifests itself in a thousand different ways. The means of sensation and perception are eagerly counterfeited by altering the nervous system by the use of stimulating or narcotic poisons of all kinds, manifesting thereby an instinctive aversion to the realities of things and circumstances. It is true that we are only capable of perceiving the changes in our own organism, not those going on around us. But the changes within us are caused, most probably, by objects outside of us; our senses give us a picture of those objects, whose reliability is surely more to be depended upon, when only warped by the imperfections in our normal selves, than when to these unavoidable sources of error is added a conscious disturbance in the functions of the nervous system caused by the use of various poisons. Only when our perceptions of things around us awake in us a feeling of positive discomfort, do we realize the necessity of warding off these unpleasant sensations, or of modifying them, until they become more agreeable. This is the cause of the constant increase in the consumption of alcohol and tobacco, and of the rapidity with which the custom of taking opium and morphine is spreading. *It is also the reason why the cultivated classes seize upon every new narcotic or stimulant which science discovers for them, so that we have not only drunkards and opium eaters among us, but confirmed chloral, chloroform and ether drinkers.* Society as a whole repeats the action of the individual, who tries 'to drown his sorrows in the flowing bowl.' It seeks oblivion of the present, and grasps at anything that will provide it with the necessary illusions by which it can escape from real life."

lers by heavy tax-burdens. Whiskey is consequently very cheap in Alsace-Lorraine, and when, by reason of the failure of grape-crops, and in consequence of hard times, the workingmen could no longer afford to buy wine, they readily became accustomed to the use of cheap spirits. Alcoholism, formerly little known in these fertile provinces, made rapid progress, and it was thought that a license-law would stay it. *But the authorities of Alsace-Lorraine, and especially the legislative representatives of that country, though much at variance in certain particulars, now all agree that the law can never attain its object, unless the higher authorities impose heavier taxes upon ardent spirits, and unless, locally, a broad distinction is made between these drinks and fermented beverages.*

It has there been found that wherever the number of public drinking-places grew smaller, by reason of the license-law, the consumption of ardent spirits increased, while that of fermented drinks decreased. Since these experiences have become more widely known, an agitation has sprung up in favor of *the abolition of the license-law, and of the entire separation of the retail sale of ardent spirits from that of malt and vinous drinks*, so as to better enable the authorities to impose high duties upon the former traffic. During a recent session of the legislature (Landesausschuss) the matter came up for discussion*, and was then thoroughly ventilated, Representative Regnier moving the consideration of a bill for the abolition of the license system and the levying of a local tax on distilled spirits. Representative Schneegans expressed the opinion of a majority of his colleagues when he said, in support of *Regnier's* bill, that since the passage of the license-law more whiskey has been consumed than ever before. "The burden of the wine-tax," he said, "was most keenly felt by the poor classes. *A reduction of the number of drinking-places is by no means proof of a diminution of alcoholism. Saloons do not make drinkers, but drinkers make saloons.* We must have a heavy tax on ardent spirits, and do away with the present license-system."

* The debate took place on the 22d and 23d of April, 1885. All quotations may be verified by reference to the published reports of the session.

Representative Ræis, a medical practitioner of local reputation, maintained that from his own professional observations he knew that less drinking-places did not at all mean less alcoholism. In a number of cities, where record is being kept of the liquids offered for sale, the consumption of whiskey rose from 90,393 litres, in 1879, to 118,020 litres, in 1883. Without a heavy tax on ardent spirits, and the removal of burdens from the retailers of wine and beer, alcoholism could not be successfully combated.

Zorn v. Burlach, who opposed the repeal of the license-law, admitted, nevertheless, that distilled liquors are rapidly taking the place of the lighter beverages. He saw a reason for this in the failure of the grape-crops. His proposition was to *confine the sale of ardent spirits to a fixed number of saloons, and to tax the latter as heavily as possible.*

Assistant Secretary of State Mayr, an officer appointed by the National Government, opposed the motion of Regnier, principally because he thought a local tax on whiskey would not be permissible, yet he, too, admitted the correctness of the principle involved, by saying that "drunkenness can be essentially diminished by cheapening wine, and still more so by popularizing malt liquors."

The outcome of the debate was a compromise in the shape of a bill instructing the government to take such steps as would free Alsace-Lorraine from the operation of the national law on spirit-taxes, and enable these provinces to impose local taxes on the manufacture and sale of ardent liquors.

The debates and ultimate action of this legislature demonstrate very clearly that in Alsace-Lorraine, as in Switzerland, the weight of evidence is totally against the theory of our high license advocates. Not the number of saloons, but the kind of drink used is the decisive factor in the production of the evils of drunkenness. Hence the proposition to multiply the facilities for obtaining the milder, and restricting the use of the fiery drinks. A system of high licenses, indiscriminately applied to all stimulants, must inevitably accomplish the reverse of this desideratum.

Upon the overwhelming evidence presented in our tables and

maps we might now rest our case, had we not promised, and were it not appropriate, to lay before the reader facts showing that the conclusions drawn by the Swiss Government from a masterly array of incontrovertible facts and figures, are applicable with equal force to our country.

It has been shown that under positively or even relatively equal tax-burdens the traffic in beer will succumb, while that in ardent liquors will either hold its own or, as is most frequently the case, grow in extent. The consequence may be, and usually is, a reduction of the saloons, that is, of beer-saloons, but not a diminution of drunkenness. Quite the contrary *must* be true, since we have seen that in *Thurgau*, with twelve retailers of fermented drinks per thousand inhabitants, only *one* out of over *ten* thousand deaths was due to alcoholism; while in Bern, with only four saloons, over *eight* out of every thousand of certified deaths are ascribed to the same disease. We have fewer saloons, then, but more drunkenness. How can we prove that the beer-traffic will succumb to heavy burdens as readily in America as it does in Switzerland and Germany? By the evidence furnished by revenue officials. On a previous occasion we published the following table, showing the amounts received for licenses issued by the United States Revenue officer in the first district of Michigan—a State having a high license law, by virtue of which retailers of fermented drinks paid at that time \$200, and whiskey dealers \$300 per annum. The correctness of the table has never been assailed.

Year.	Retail Liquor Dealers @ \$25.	Wholesale Liq'r Dealers @ \$100	Brewers.	Brewers.	Retail Malt Liq'r Deal'rs \$20.	Wholesale Malt Liquor deal'rs, \$50.
1880....	\$35,428 11	\$1,725 00	\$683 34	\$3,083 33	\$2,503 36	\$1,145 84
1881....	37,516 47	2,050 00	733 34	2,950 00	1,979 19	1,050 00
1882....	33,905 46	2,212 50	575 00	3,300 00	989 18	947 50
1883....	37,873 64	2,237 50	450 00	3,091 67	758 35	760 41

At a glance it will be seen that while there was an appre-

ciable increase in the amounts collected from retail and wholesale liquor dealers, there is an enormous decrease in the sums paid by wholesale and retail dealers of malt liquors. In 1880 the United States received \$35,428.11 from retail liquor dealers; in 1883 the revenues from this source amounted to \$37,823.64. In 1880 the revenues from malt liquors amounted to \$2,503.36, in 1883 to \$758.35.

The illicit sale of ardent liquors naturally goes hand in hand with the enforcement of stringent laws, and there is all the more inducement for this from the very fact that the disappearance of so many beer-saloons holds out an enticing chance of reaping large profits, by supplying wants now unattended to. This assertion is proven by comparing the number of licenses issued by the local authorities of the city of Detroit with the number issued by the Federal Government. It has been shown* in this way, that in Detroit there were, in 1882-3, two hundred and sixteen places, holding Federal licenses, in which liquors were sold in defiance of the local law. How many there were who sold liquors in violation of both Federal and local laws, we cannot say, and for our purposes it is not essential to ascertain. The one fact remains undisputed and indisputable, that the law seriously affected the consumption of malt liquors. In populous cities intemperance would find a still stronger ally in such a law, for the following reason: In the densely populated tenement quarters of such cities there is, at present, excepting the very lowest localities, a preponderance of small beer-saloons, whose owners sell at least one half of their stock of beer by the pint, their customers being working-men with large families, to whom the fermented drink is at once stimulant, refreshment and food. On these sales the retailer sustains losses. His profits on the sale by the glass are just about sufficient to cover these losses, and pay rent, duties and food. The retailers barely make a living now; a very great proportion of them, however, would not even be able to do that, were it not for the leniency of the brewer. Fully one half of these smaller saloons—as can be shown by figures—are constantly hampered

*Real and Imaginary Effects of Intemperance. Page 90.

by their inability to keep out of debt. An increase of the cost of licenses to the Illinois or Michigan standard would undoubtedly close these places,—and there would then, indeed, be a reduction of saloons. But what would be the consequence? Would not the closing of, say, three beer saloons in one block offer an unusually fair chance of gain to the retailer of ardent spirits, whose profits, under any circumstances, are many times larger than those of the beer-seller? Most assuredly it would. And not only that, illicit selling would increase in direct proportion to the inducements offered. The law would in that case reduce the number of a certain class of saloons, but it would increase drunkenness, since whiskey would be substituted for beer. The result would be like that reported from Bern, where *four* saloons (per thousand inhabitants) deal out over eight deaths, while in Thurgau, with *twelve* saloons, not quite *one* death out of every *ten thousand* certified deaths is attributable to alcoholism.

The data produced in the case of Michigan find a parallel in the city of Chicago. When the high license law went into force there, the brewers at once saw that it would only affect their trade in favor of distilled liquors. In order to prevent the displacement of beer by ardent spirits, they agreed to reduce the price of their product, thus virtually bearing themselves the burdens designed for their customers.

The distillers did not feel called upon to take such a step. They knew that no high license law ever passed could affect their manufacture. This outcome of the law is so generally known and deplored that Mayor Harrison, under date of September 15th, 1885, vetoed an ordinance, passed by the Council of Chicago, imposing a license upon brewers. The reasons given by Mr. Harrison for this veto are sufficiently significant to warrant their literal re-production. The veto message reads:—

“Disclaiming any desire to antagonize the Council, I wish to state that I have been requested by Aldermen who voted for the ordinance to return it unsigned, so that they may further examine into the matter.

This of itself would be sufficient reason for my present action, but I wish

to state further that my own examination convinces me that this license is a double tax upon the brewers.

When the high saloon license went into operation, the brewers, of their own volition, reduced the price of their beer 10 per cent., or 80 cents per barrel. This reduction amounted to considerably more than \$800,000 on the beer sold by them, and enabled the retailers to pay the \$500 license. A very large number of such retailers would, but for this, have been utterly unable to pay such license, and thus the city would have lost a very large amount of the revenue necessary to run the municipal machine.

It is conceded by all thinking men that beer does far less harm to the people than alcoholic drinks, and it is claimed by many that cheap beer drives out the more harmful beverages, which it seems, in all climates like ours, will inevitably be drunk unless less injurious drinks are afforded the thirsty. Indeed, a great many claim, and most plausibly, that cheap, pure beer is the real solution of the temperance problem.

The reduction of 80 cents per barrel on the price of beer enables a saloon-keeper to support himself without pouring down hot throats a poison called whiskey, retailed in many saloons, which well-informed men believe fills our House of Correction with drunkards and is the parent of a large amount of our crime. Thus a separate tax on brewers, together with this reduction, becomes a double tax. Again many saloon-keepers are barely able to support their families by their trade, and can lay up no considerable amount of money, so that they find themselves utterly unable to pay the license without assistance.

I learn that about one-third of all the saloon licenses in Chicago, say to the amount of \$500,000, is advanced by the brewers. They then collect the amount so advanced, as far as possible, from their customers in small payments. This the city could not do. In very many instances this advance is wholly lost. Thus, again, a separate tax upon the brewers is in this way a double tax.

Again, while some of the large brewers would scarcely feel the payment of \$500 per annum, there are many small brewers who can not afford to pay that amount. The \$500 license becomes a burden upon them, and makes them unable to compete with the large establishments. This will tend to drive the whole business into the hands of the great concerns, and thus make them vast monopolies.

It is hardly a proper argument that because the small saloon-keepers have to pay \$500, therefore the brewers should not complain of such a tax. This is a specious argument, but the small saloon-keeper can surely gain nothing by the tax on those who produce what he sells, especially when such tax may drive the small brewers out of existence, and thus leave him wholly in the power of the great establishments. I throw out these suggestions for your consideration, and ask you to consider them, and I further suggest that a more moderate license, which will enable the small brewers to compete more successfully with the large ones, may be a proper thing for you to enforce."

It is evident that a decrease in the consumption of fermented liquors would have been inevitable, had not the manufacturers assumed a tax-burden which the framers of the law could never have contemplated, unless they were inspired by a desire to show partiality to the distillers at the expense of the brewers.

No distinction is made in Chicago between fermented beverages and distilled liquors. The license for the sale of whiskey costs no more than that for the sale of beer. What could be more natural than that the retailer who formerly sold beer only, should now, seeing that the license-fee is the same, also sell ardent spirits, which yield large profits, and the handling and keeping of which require little care and labor? In the end this uniformity of license-fees will undoubtedly transform every beer-saloon into a whiskey-shop, in spite of the pecuniary sacrifice made by the brewers to prevent this change.

Having shown that the indiscriminate application of the high license system inevitably tends to increase the consumption of ardent spirits at the expense of malt beverages, it should not be necessary, in view of what has already been proved, to demonstrate that such a state of affairs must necessarily increase drunkenness and all the evils attendant upon it. Our statistics from foreign countries preach an eloquent homily on the subject. Unfortunately we have no such comparative statistics covering the whole of our country, or at least those parts of it where the status in question existed for any length of time. But is there any reason, however far-fetched, why the excessive use of ardent spirits should be deemed less injurious, or why the general consumption of fermented liquors should be considered as less wholesome in America than in any other civilized part of the globe?

That a vast difference exists between the condition of the American workingmen and that of the European wage-earners cannot, happily, be disputed; and it is evident that the American workers, being, in the aggregate, much better fed, clothed and housed than their European colleagues in the same stations of life, are less susceptible of the effects of intemperance. One, but only one, of the reasons why the American people are the most

sober of nations, except one or two,* lies, indeed, in the fact of their being without a doubt the best fed people in the world.† There is, however, in this case, no question at issue requiring an inter-comparison of nations on this particular point. What we have to ascertain is, whether—making allowances for the differences pointed out—the general use of ardent spirits would produce the same results in New York as in Bern, and whether the general consumption of the milder drinks would have the same effect in Bern as in New York.

In order to obtain an accurate exhibit of this kind, the government would have to pursue just such a line of enquiry as has been followed in several foreign countries. Without this, there is no prospect of our being able to present the facts in the case as clearly and convincingly as we have done in the first part of this pamphlet. It deserves to be accentuated that all efforts that have been made, in this country, in the direction indicated, failed, because it was evident that at the bottom of them there was, not a desire to make Truth manifest, but rather an intention to produce, at all hazards, just such evidence as was needed to bolster up preconceived theories. But in the absence of such specific statistics as are presented by Switzerland, it may be allowable to produce the following table, compiled from data which are contained in the last (XI.) volume of the U. S. census, just published. It gives the number of

*See Liquor Laws of the U.S., &c., by G. Thomann, 1885. Page 241.

† According to Table No. 26 of the "Balance-sheet of the World" (1881) the relative per capita consumption of grain and meat is as follows:

COUNTRIES.	Bu. Grain.	Lbs. Meat.
United States.....	40.66	120.00
Great Britain.....	20.02	119.10
Germany.....	23.71	84.51
Belgium.....	22.84	57.10
Holland.....	16.25	48.40
Denmark.....	30.83	58.45
Sweden and Norway.....	12.05	51.10

deaths, among Irish and German, from all causes; and the number of deaths caused by alcoholism:—

GRAND GROUPS.	Deaths from all causes.		Deaths from alcoholism.	
	Irish.	German.	Irish.	Ger.
I. Maine, N. H., Mass., R I., Ct., including cities of Boston, Cambridge, &c., coast region.....	9,247	654	46	11
II. New York, N. J., Maryland, &c., including Brooklyn, N. Y., Jersey City, &c.....	15,838	11,205	102	27
V. Maine, N. H., Mass., Ct., N. Y., including Worcester, Hartford, &c., N.E. hills and plateaus.....	2,931	195	10	2
VI. N. Y., N. J., Penn., Maryland, including Albany, Troy, &c., central Appalachian chain.....	3,007	1,441	9	2
VII. N. Y., Ohio, Mich., Ind., Ills, Wis. Cities: Buffalo, Rochester, Cleveland, &c., region of the Great Northern Lakes.....	2,678	6,594	16	6
VIII. N.Y., Penn., Va., N.C. Cities: Albany, Syracuse, Troy, &c., interior plateau.....	4,850	1,439	21	5
X. Ohio, Ind., W. Va., Ky. Cities: Cincinnati, Dayton, Louisville, &c., Ohio River belt.....	1,650	4,651	21	27
XIII. Mo., Iowa, Ills., Wis., Min. Cities: Minneapolis, St. Louis, St. Paul, &c., N. Miss. River belt....	1,203	3,674	9	7
XVI. Mo., Iowa, Ills., Ky., Neb., Wis., prairie region....	3,397	6,087	22	9
XVII. Mo., Iowa, Neb., Dakota, Missouri River belt.....	405	1,167	1	3
XVIII. Dak., Mont., Wy., Neb., Kansas, Col., N. Mex., Texas. City: Denver, western plains.....	82	152	0	1
XIX. Mich., Wis., Minnesota, timber region of N.W.....	532	985	2	2
XX. Mont., Wash., Wy., Idaho, Oregon, Col., Utah, Nev., Cal., Arizona, N. Mex., Cordilleran region.	644	292	16	10
XXI. Cal., Oregon, Wash. Cities: San Francisco, Oakland, Pacific coast region.....	1,266	646	25	7

Although it cannot be demonstrated with anything like mathematical precision, yet it is generally conceded, that the majority of Irishmen are whiskey-drinkers, while the majority of Germans are habitual beer-drinkers. The proportion of whiskey-drinkers among the latter is, however, very much greater than the proportion of beer-drinkers among the former. The North-Germans are, as a class, addicted to the use of ardent spirits, and it may be taken for granted that a large proportion of them adhere to this drinking-habit even in their new fatherland. Were the beer-drinkers locally concentrated in great masses, as in Bavaria, for instance, the showing we shall attempt to pro-

duce would lie on the surface.* As it is, we must again, as before, resort to facts which are generally known, yet cannot be presented with such statistical accuracy as would make them adequate complements of the foregoing tabular statement. One of these facts is, that the greatest number of breweries are found where the German population is most numerous; and another fact is, that in all the younger States and communities of the West of our country the brewing industry progresses slowly, keeping pace with the spread of civilization, and only gaining a firm foothold after a certain stage is reached.† Keeping these facts in view, the reader will easily understand the conclusions to be drawn from our table. Aside from the great difference which, with the exception of a few instances, is found between the two last columns of figures, as inter-compared with the first two, one cannot but be deeply impressed with the numbers entered opposite Group VII., as compared with those which appear opposite Group XX. In the former group, which may fairly be styled a beer centre, the number of deaths from all causes, among Germans, was larger (because the German population is larger) than in any other specified group, one excepted; yet in this very group the proportion of deaths from alcoholism is next to the lowest. We have here 6,594 reported deaths, among Germans, out of which only six are attributed to alcoholism; whereas the total number of deaths, among Irish, is but 2,678, out of which 16 are ascribed to alcoholism. Group XX. consists of such parts of States and Territories in which the brewing industry is very poorly represented (the greater part of the breweries of California is located in cities which are not included in this group), and the proportion of deaths from alcoholism was not only very much larger than the same death-rate among the Germans of any other group, but even larger than this death-rate among the Irish of this or any other group. The explanation is near at hand: Where beer can

*Alcoholism is almost unknown there, while in North Germany the proportion of that disease to all others, as causes of insanity, is 9 per cent., according to some, 13 per cent., according to other authorities.

†This rule, for such it is, cannot, of course, apply inversely to those old Eastern States where the natural development of refined drinking-habits was prevented by prohibitory laws,

not be had, as in this case, Germans, even those who were originally beer-drinkers, become accustomed to the use of ardent spirits, and, being less inured to the effects of alcohol than their Irish neighbors, succumb more easily to them.

These two extreme cases serve to illustrate the difference between fermented beverages and distilled spirits more pointedly than any other, because the factors which we have before described as being decisive in the matter, are more easily perceptible than elsewhere. The second group, including the cities of New York and Brooklyn, would serve this purpose equally well, if the birth-places of those Germans who died of alcoholism could be ascertained, and if the proportion of German vagrants and paupers to the entire German population were known. Knowing the birth-places of these persons one might venture an opinion as to their drinking-habits, and thus arrive at a fair general conclusion. But even as it is, certain palpable inferences force themselves upon the mind of the unbiased observer.

New York city is the place of debarkation for ninety-hundredths of all German immigrants. By far the greater portion of those Germans who have no relatives in the country and no means to enable them to follow the great stream of inland immigration, remain either in New York or Brooklyn, awaiting their opportunity for work, where thousands upon thousands of willing hands are already doomed to involuntary idleness. It is not unreasonable in view of these well established facts to assume that the greatest proportion of whiskey-drinking Germans is to be found in that group which includes the cities of New York and Brooklyn. It being generally admitted that the North-Germans, coming from a country where the manufacture of fermented drinks is of but very recent date, are, as a class, consumers of ardent spirits, and that the proportion of North-Germans to their beer-drinking countrymen is, approximately, as 2 to 5, one can readily form an opinion as to what the proportion of whiskey-drinking Germans must be in the group mentioned. Attaching no more weight to these considerations than is properly due them, the reader will undoubtedly appreciate fully the figures presented opposite Group II. In this connection it may

be well to state that among 500 patients treated in King's County Inebriates' Home, near Brooklyn, 13 were born in Germany, but only 2 were classed as habitual beer-drinkers; whereas 11 ranked among the habitual consumers of ardent spirits. The same institution, by the way, furnishes the best evidence that fermented drinks and distilled liquors affect the human body in precisely the same manner here as elsewhere. Out of five hundred inebriates only twenty-four were classed as habitual beer-drinkers, nine of whom were females, confined, most likely, to prevent disgrace to their families. Twelve had complicating diseases. Only two of the whole number had delirium tremens. One of these was a bar-maid; the other a merchant, who, while suffering with a severe concussion, consumed a gallon of beer daily.

Leaving the subject of alcoholism and turning to that of arrests for drunkenness, we find an excellent companion to the Swiss tables in the inebriety statistics of the city of Brooklyn.* As in Switzerland the lowest rate of alcoholism was found in places where the number of saloons (for the sale of fermented drinks) was greatest, just so was the number of arrests for drunkenness found to be smallest in those precincts of Brooklyn where the number of beer saloons is greatest. Of the impossibility of diminishing inebriety by a mere reduction of public saloons we have, from the same source, as good a proof as any of those presented by the Government of Switzerland, in the following tabular extract:—

PRECINCT.	Estimated Population.	Total number of Saloons.	Total number of arrests.
Ninth.....	44,500	79	254
Third Sub.....	15,000	61	1,705

The State Board of Health of Massachusetts, in its report of January, 1872, gives the proportion of Irish prisoners to Irish

*The data were gathered by the local authorities and published by order of the Mayor. in the winter of 1883. The statistical table can be found on page 58 of "Real and Imaginary Effects, &c.

population, in Boston, as 25.78; that of German prisoners to German population as 6.49; a difference which the Board attributes principally to the difference in the liquors used by the Irish and Germans.

Meagre as these statistical exhibits are, compared with the fullness of the Swiss data, they suffice, it is hoped, to illustrate the entire applicability of the Swiss conclusions to the condition of things in our country.

Let us, then, briefly recapitulate what has been demonstrated.

As to Switzerland it has been shown :—

I. That the highest degree of inebriety and alcoholism prevailed in localities which had the smallest number of drinking-places; the drink generally used being ardent spirits.

II. That the highest degree of sobriety prevailed in localities where the number of drinking-places was largest; the beverages used being fermented liquors.

III. That under the operation of laws designed to restrict the *entire* traffic, fermented drinks were driven out by distilled spirits.

The conclusion based on these facts is, that for the purpose of diminishing inebriety a reduction of saloons is absolutely inessential; but that the question of the nature of drinks offered for sale by retailers is of the utmost importance. The recommendation which grew out of this conclusion is to the effect, that the Legislature increase the facilities for obtaining fermented liquors, and restrict the use of ardent spirits. The means proposed consist of laws removing tax-burdens from wine and malt liquors, and augmenting those on distilled liquors.

As to our country it has been shown :—

I. That whenever the system of high licenses reduces the number of *licensed* saloons, its restrictive force falls entirely on the retailers of fermented beverages.

II. That under the operation of high license laws the consumption of ardent spirits increases.

III. That the highest degree of drunkenness is found where ardent spirits are used most generally, while comparative sobriety prevails where malt liquors are the common drink.

Our conclusions must be identical with those at which the Swiss authorities arrived, namely: that the restrictive effect of tax-laws should be confined to ardent spirits, so as to impart to the beer traffic greater power of expansion, and to enable the people to gratify an ineradicable craving for stimulants by using the mild and wholesome beverages, which, as has been proved, are so rarely productive of inebriety in its pernicious and dangerous forms.

A FEW SUGGESTIONS ON A PROPOSED HIGH LICENSE LAW.

The Church Temperance Society of the City of New York has inaugurated a movement which seems to indicate a growing disposition on the part of temperance advocates to recognize the injudiciousness of practically placing fermented liquors and distilled spirits in one and the same category. By this society an excise law has been proposed of which a circular, signed by Rev. Howard Crosby and Mr. Robert Graham, gives the following "main features":—

1. A broad distinction between distilled and fermented liquors, the license fee for the former being \$1,000, for the latter \$100.
2. Disqualifying convicts from holding licenses.
3. The disqualification of premises for one year, on conviction or revocation of license.
4. The publication of name and address of applicant at least one week before a license is granted.
5. Prohibiting sale of liquor to minors, under penalty of revocation of license.

6. Prohibiting sale of liquor on board excursion boats and in tenement houses.

7. Requiring licencees to keep the interior of their premises open to view.

8. Care has been taken that no provision of this Bill shall infringe upon or affect the "Civil Damage Act," or the "Local Option Law."

Sections 8 and 9 of the proposed law read thus:—

§ 8. Licenses shall be of the following six classes:—

1. *Liquor License*—To sell liquors of any kind to be drunk on the premises.

2. *Wine and Beer License*—To sell malt liquors, cider and wine, to be drunk on the premises.

3. *Beer License*—To sell malt liquors and cider to be drunk on the premises.

4. *Storekeeper's Liquor License*—To sell liquors of any kind not to be drunk on the premises.

5. *Storekeeper's Beer License*—To sell malt liquors, cider and wine, not to be drunk on the premises.

6. *Druggist's License*—Licenses to druggists and apothecaries to sell liquors of any kind for medicinal, mechanical and chemical purposes only, to such persons only as may certify in writing for what use they want it.

§ 9. The fees for said licenses shall be as follows:—

For a license of the first class in cities of more than 300,000 inhabitants,	
not less than.....	\$1,000
In all other cities, towns and villages, not less than.....	\$500
For a license of the second class in cities of more than 300,000 inhabitants,	
not less than.....	\$500
In all other cities, towns or villages, not less than.....	\$250
For a license of the third class in cities of more than 300,000 inhabitants,	
not less than.....	\$100
In all other cities, towns or villages, not less than	\$50
For a license of the fourth class, not less than.....	\$100
For a license of the fifth class, not less than.....	\$25
For a license of the sixth class, not less than.....	\$10

One of the greatest dangers in making a license law restrictive in its operation lies in the temptation to over-reach the object in view. If the license is too high, the law will inevitably be evaded, and the result will be a state of things equally as bad as that now complained of. An eminent authority on the subject of taxation, Hon. D. A. Wells, pronounced it an economic axiom, that

any tax sufficiently great to sufficiently indemnify and reward evasion will be evaded. The fee for a license of the first class in cities of more than 300,000 inhabitants is entirely too high; and the impracticability of the proposed law in this particular is all the more obvious, as it scarcely needs to be proved that an evasion of this tax is much more feasible in a large city than in a small one. The writer of this, who assuredly cannot be accused of a partiality for distillers, would oppose so high a rate for the reason that it would unavoidably provoke illicit selling, and thus injure alike the cause of temperance and the interests of the brewing industry. The distinction made between first-class licenses to be issued in cities of 300,000 inhabitants and those proposed for smaller cities may be perfectly justifiable in principle, because it is assumed that there is more intemperance in large cities than in smaller ones. But for this very reason this distinction should not hold good as to malt liquors, seeing that here, as in Switzerland and elsewhere, the greatest need of more fermented drinks is felt in localities where inebriety prevails to the greatest extent. In addition to this it is to be considered that the small retailers of beer, located in tenement quarters of large cities, who sell half their stock by the pint, can least afford to pay a fee of \$100; yet, from every conceivable point of view, they must be regarded as the very class of retailers whose number it would be extremely unwise to reduce. A uniform fee of \$50 for the sale of malt liquors would be as high as temperance considerations appear to dictate. If a clause of the law, separating the beer traffic from the retailing of whiskey, could be made so stringent, yet so easy of execution, as to preclude the probability of an illicit whiskey traffic under guise of the beer license, the fee might, in the interests of temperance, be still smaller. In fact, with a "high license" for the sale of ardent spirits, a little more reasonable than the one proposed, the legislator would be justified in adopting the French or Swiss idea of making the sale of beer absolutely free. We consider the license of the first class for the sale of spirits too high, simply because we fear that it will provoke illicit traffic. The license fee for the sale of beer is too high in any case, and if the framers and advocates of the proposed

law—all of them gentlemen worthy of the utmost confidence and respect—would take the trouble to enquire into the state of the beer traffic in those quarters of New York city where beer is most needed, from a temperance standpoint, they would find that their purpose would be served fully and effectually by a much lower fee than they propose.

The law is defective in many other particulars, some of which have been pointed out by the metropolitan newspapers. But even as it stands, we welcome it as a manifestation of a truly philanthropic spirit, and as an evidence of the spreading of more liberal views. May this unpretending pamphlet, the best and most effective parts of which we owe to the efforts of the government of a sister-republic, tend to fortify the position taken by the Church Temperance Society in the matter of a broad distinction between beer and ardent spirits; but may it also tend to so modify the details of their measure as to ensure the results for which all good citizens ought to labor.

